

UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

My Russian Impressions (PART I)

By Rabindranath Tagore

Translated from the Original Bengali by Basanta Koomar Roy

The Reëlection of President Roosevelt and Its
Significance in World Politics - *Taraknath Das*

The Henry George Point of View - *B. W. Burger*

A Day in the Tomato Fields - *Frank S. Harwood*

American Notes - - - *Sydney Strong*

The Study Table

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The Field

*"The world is my country,
to do good is my Religion."*

Archives on Peace

The Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College is collecting material on peace and on world problems in its Jane Addams Peace Collection. It is interested in securing letters, pamphlets, manuscripts, clippings and books that deal with the history of the peace movement.

A considerable collection of such materials is already at hand. In 1930 Jane Addams sent her large collection of peace materials—ranging from personal letters to books in a dozen languages—to the Friends Historical Library. Previous acquisitions included books and pamphlets on peace issued or collected by Friends in the United States and England and turned over to these peace archives. Later, also, the records of the Universal Peace Union, 1866-1920, a unique collection going back to 1642 and including letters, photographs, papers, books and broadsides on war and peace. Finally the papers of Professor William I. Hull, well-known scholar, writer and life-long worker for peace, which are especially valuable for their newspaper clippings and their file of periodicals.

All of this peace material is now being catalogued and prepared for free use by research workers and the interested public. It is housed in the new Biddle Memorial Library at Swarthmore College. Through a study of these papers there will emerge the story of the persistent and desperate efforts of men and women in different countries trying to find some method of solving international problems and adjusting international differences without the wholesale slaughter of peoples. Only a half dozen sound and well-informed books have thus far been published in this neglected field—though special subjects have received ample attention—which opens up a golden opportunity for research workers and writers.

The Acting Curator of the Jane Addams Peace Collection reports that these peace archives are far from complete. In fact, they are only started. Many files are incomplete and of many groups that have done worthwhile peace work there is no record whatever. An appeal is therefore being made to all peace workers

(Continued on page 179)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXVIII

MONDAY, JANUARY 4, 1937

No. 9

BE TRUE

Thou must be true thyself,
If thou the truth wouldst teach;
Thy soul must overflow, if thou
Another's soul wouldst reach;
It needs the overflow of heart,
To give the lips full speech.

Think truly, and thy thoughts
Shall the world's famine feed;
Speak truly, and each word of thine
Shall be a fruitful seed;
Live truly, and thy life shall be
A great and noble creed.

—Bonar.

THE DEAD OF 1936

The horror of violent death stalked the world in 1936 in two ghastly episodes not destined soon to be forgotten. The one was the attempted destruction by assassination of the Japanese cabinet in Tokyo by rebellious army officers. In the confusion incident to this event, records became uncertain, but our notes seem to indicate that four ministers of state in Tokyo were killed—KANTARO SUZUKI, MAKOTO SAITO, JOTARO WATANABE, and KOREKIJO TAKAHOSHI. The later capital punishment of the guilty officers was poor retaliation for such horror. Matching this bloody deed was the assassination of the Communist conspirators, so-called, in Moscow—LEON KAMENEV, GREGORY ZINOVIEV and their comrades, and the accompanying suicide of NIKHAIL TOMSKY, suspect. This act was technically in accordance with law and court procedure, but was nonetheless, in every moral sense of the word, assassination. Like the hand of Lady Macbeth, the Soviet government's record remains uncleansed by any or all of the explanations offered. Next, in sheer sensation, was the death of GEORGE V, after a reign of twenty-five years which compassed the stupendous period of the War and after. This event in mournful dignity and solemn pomp and pageantry was profoundly moving. The world watched in reverence while an empire buried a ruler whose name will be forever associated with one of the vastest epochs of human history. And then the passing of this king led in the person of his successor, Edward VIII, to such a constitutional crisis as England has not seen since Cromwell and his Puritan associates fronted and defeated

Charles I. It was an amazing concatenation of events which began in that quiet death-chamber in Buckingham Palace and ended in the tragedy of Fort Belvedere. A thousand years of English history can show nothing like it. Kings have been deposed, but never before has one voluntarily abdicated. A sad episode, and yet, under the circumstances, wholesome! There should have been some way of reconciliation and adjustment, but, failing this, Parliament and not the King had to prevail if, in the motherland of democracy, the people's rule was not to crash.

CLERGYMEN AND SOCIAL REFORMERS

Never has UNITY more deeply mourned the dead in the field of religion than in this past year which witnessed the loss of three of the most honored members of our staff. Two of these three—JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND and JAMES H. WEST—were also our oldest friends, both of them going back to the early days of this paper. The third, EDMUND B. CHAFFEE, was young and died untimely. Most famous among the religious leaders who passed away in 1936 was S. PARKES CADMAN, whose radio ministry carried his influence to millions throughout the land. The Jews bewailed their greatest orthodox rabbi, the noble and learned MOSES B. MARGOLIS. The cause of missionary and relief work in distant countries must forever be associated in our age with the devoted JAMES L. BARTON. Other well-known clergymen no longer with us are THOMAS C. HALL, distinguished scholar, JAMES W. SNOWDEN, theologian, JOHN WESLEY HILL, college president as well as Methodist minister, HENRY L. STIMSON, Congregationalist, LEON G. BROUGHTON, Baptist, WALTER LAIDLAW, for years director of the New York Federation of Churches, and ADDISON F. MOORE and JOHN W. DAY, Unitarians. Canon WILLIAM CARNEGIE, of Westminster, died in London. To these must be added two consecrated laymen, FRED B. SMITH, ardent evangelist and social crusader, and S. BURNS WESTON, Ethical Culture leader for a generation in Philadelphia. It is natural to speak of social workers along with ministers, for the two professions overlap and intermingle. Chief among the social workers and reformers who have gone are MARY McDOWELL, of Chicago, and LUCIA AMES MEAD, of Boston, two of America's greatest women. MRS. HENRY SEDG-

WICK in England matched in power and leadership these two. I. M. RUBINOW was for years the leading authority in this country on social insurance; WILLIAM R. GEORGE was identified with the Junior Republic movement; JOHN J. MURPHY was one of New York's leading housing experts; HENRY MOSKOWITZ one of New York's leading reformers; and NAHUM SOKOLOW, a world-famous Zionist leader. To these may properly be added WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING, for many years a Socialist, and ALEXANDER BIRKMAN, Anarchist.

STATESMEN AND SOLDIERS

Statesmen who died this past year are not numerous nor particularly conspicuous, either at home or abroad. First among them may be named a king—FUAD I, of Egypt. Most distinguished was GEORGE TCHICHERIN, of Russia, probably the greatest foreign minister of the post-war age. With him should be linked two Greek premiers, rivals who died within a few months of each other—MARSHALL KONDYLIIS and ELEUTHINOS VENIZELOS. In England died S. SAKLATVALA, an Indian who became the first Communist member of the British House of Commons. In our own country there died, among active political leaders, GEORGE H. DERN, Secretary of War, HENRY L. ROOSEVELT, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, JOSEPH W. BYRNES, Speaker of the House of Representatives, DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, Senator from Florida, JAMES COUZENS, Senator from Michigan, LOUIS MURPHY, Senator from Iowa, PETER NORBECK, Senator from South Dakota, FLOYD B. OLSON, Governor of Minnesota and important radical leader, JESSE ISIDOR STRAUS, Ambassador to France, and LOUIS MCHENRY HOWE, friend and confidential secretary to the President. Among political leaders not in office or retired are GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM, late Attorney-General, JAMES M. BECK, late Solicitor-General, A. MITCHELL PALMER, another ex-Attorney-General, ALBERT C. RITCHIE, former Governor of Maryland, and LEN SMALL, former Governor of Illinois, VICTOR METCALF, an ex-cabinet officer, MAGNUS JOHNSON, ex-Senator, JOHN F. HYLAN, former Mayor of New York, MILO RENO, farm leader, and CHARLES CURTIS, Vice-President under Coolidge. Statesmen, somehow or other, suggest soldiers and admirals. They are partners a good part of the time—in this military age, neither could get along without the others. Among those for whom "Taps" were sounded in 1936 we remember EARL BEATTY, of England, entombed in St. Paul's Cathedral as the brilliant commander of the cruiser squadron at the battle of Jutland. With him departed in our country WILLIAM S. SIMS, commander of the American fleet in the World War. The British Army lost VISCOUNT ALLENBY, probably the greatest soldier of his time; and the American Army lost General WILLIAM MITCHELL.

AUTHORS AND JOURNALISTS

Literature holds interest for us beyond all claims of politics and war. Here the losses this past year were momentous. Immortal names appear upon the roll of the dead—first among them all, RUDYARD KIP-LING, most appropriately buried in Westminster Abbey. Next to him must come A. E. HOUSMAN, the "Shropshire Lad," whose lyrics will be remembered and read as long as the English language is known to men. To these immortal two we add a third, GILBERT K. CHESTERTON, author gifted in many fields from essays to detective stories, but first and last a poet. Another immortal died in Europe, OSWALD SPENGLER, whose masterpiece, *The Decline of the West*, be it right or wrong in its conclusions, must stand as one of the supreme intellectual achievements of all time. And is there not still one other of these immortals, namely, MAXIM GORKY, novelist and playwright of Russia? England suffered other heavy losses, BEATRICE HAR-RADEN, author of that best seller, *Ships that Pass in the Night*, ALLAN MONKHOUSE, novelist, R. P. CUN-NINGHAME GRAHAM, traveler and fascinating writer, EDMOND HOLMES, poet, and JUSTIN MCCARTHY, historian and essayist. France lost a distinguished poet in the death of HENRI DE RENIER. In this country we note the passing of FINLEY PETER DUNN, the incomparable "Mr. Dooley," LINCOLN STEFFENS, super-journalist, HARRIET MONROE, poet and friend of poets, LOUISE BRYANT, who wrote notable books on Russia, DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI, Indian story-teller, and GEORGE ALLAN ENGLAND, MARY JOHNSON, MARIE VAN VORST, and MARY SHIPMAN ANDREWS, novelists. Journalism is surely a part of literature. So in this place should be recorded with honor the names of FRANK H. SIMONS, war correspondent and international authority, OWEN SEAMAN, editor of *Punch*, CLARK HOW-ELL, editor of the *Atlanta Journal*, and MARLEN E. PEW, editor of *Editor and Publisher*. We add the names of two book publishers of distinction, both connected with the great house of Macmillan, GEORGE AUGUSTIN MACMILLAN, of London, and GEORGE P. BRETT, of New York.

THE WORLD OF ART

Music has always seemed to us to be preëminent. In this field there died some notable figures, deeply and widely lamented. We name first MME. SCHU-MANN-HEINK, the sentimentality of whose last years could not dim her glory as a singer of supreme artistry and power. With her must be named ANTONIO SCOTTI, who shared the splendor of the great Metropolitan Opera in New York. ELLISON VAN HOOSE, tenor, was another Metropolitan singer, as was also CLAUDIA MUZIO, soprano. EDOARD FERRARI FONTANA was a notable tenor, and Dame CLARA BUTT, the most notable of English contraltos. Two famous composers passed away, the Russian, ALEXANDER GLAZOUNOFF,

and the Italian, OTTORINO RESPIGHI. A successful composer of light English opera was SIR EDWARD GERMAN. An American composer of more than local eminence was RUBIN GOLDMARK. Two orchestra conductors who died were JOSEF STRANSKY and OSSIP GABRILOWITSCH. The latter was also a most distinguished pianist, to be remembered with our own American pianist, ARTHUR WHITING. The late WILLIAM C. CARL was one of the greatest American organists, and JOHN ALEXANDER FULLER a leading musical critic. Near akin to music are painting and sculpture, which field is the poorer for the deaths of EDWIN H. BLASHFIELD, LORADO TAFT, CHARLES HASSAM, and ABBOTT GRAVES. Then comes the theatre! Here the dead in 1936 are numerous—actors, EDMUND BREESE, O. P. HEGGIE, LENOX PAWLE, HARRY KELLY, PAUL McCULLOUGH, ERNEST GLENDENNING, FULLER MELISH; actresses, ALEXANDRIA CARLYLE, MARILYN MILLER, JOBYNA HOWLAND, MRS. THOMAS WHIFFEN, ANNIE RUSSELL; movie stars, IRVING THALBERG, JOHN GILBERT; managers, MARK KLAU, OSCAR ASCHE, BEN GREET; impresario, NIKITA BALIEFF; dancer, LA ARGENTINA. Two great dramatists passed away, LUIGI PIRANDELLO, Nobel Prize Winner, of Italy, and JACINTO BENEVENTE, of Spain; one famous librettist, HARRY B. SMITH, of "Robin Hood," and one dramatic critic, PERCY HAMMOND. To this group should be added the name of "ROXY," the great showman of Broadway and the radio, HOWARD THURSTON, magician, and—why not?—JOHN RINGLING, greatest of modern circus managers.

SCIENCE, EDUCATION, BUSINESS, ET CETERA

Among scientists and scholars who died in 1936 the name of IVAN PAVLOV stands preëminent. This Russian was one of the greatest research investigators of all time. Next in fame and achievement we would list Dr. KARL PEARSON, of England, eugenist. In our own country, we note the well-known names of JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, creator and leader of a new school of history, ELLIS PAXON OBERHOLTZER, historian of the American people, PARKER T. MOON, student and teacher of international affairs, RICHARD GOTTHEIL, great Jewish scholar and Zionist, FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS, psychiatrist, and HIRAM P. MAXIM, inventor. Dr. WILLIAM H. WILMER and Dr. HARLOW BROOKS were eminent and beloved physicians; Dr. WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, a physician conspicuous for his medical and social reform activities as editor of *Critic and Guide*. Two college presidents passed away, ELLEN K. PENDLETON, of Wellesley, and Dr. JOHN HOPE, of Atlanta University. To these notable names must be added that of MRS. ANNE SULLIVAN MACY, one of the greatest of all educators as the teacher and friend of

Helen Keller. Among business men dead this past year were CYRUS HALL McCORMICK, of harvester fame, O. P. VAN SWERINGEN, railroad magnate, and JOHN HAYS HAMMOND, engineer. Defying classification, as a miscellaneous group, are the following: SIR BASIL ZAHAROFF, munitions peddler, well described as "the wickedest man in the world," JEAN CHARCOT, French geographer and explorer, LOUIS BLERIOT, the first aviator to fly the British Channel, JEAN PATOU, French maker of fashions, CHEIRO, palmist, "COIN" HARVEY, of free silver fame in '96 and after, H. CHANDLER EGAN, golf champion, "RED" AMES, professional baseball pitcher, "DUTCH" CARTER, Yale pitcher, TOM SHIBE, Philadelphia baseball magnate, FREDERICK H. HARVEY, of railroad restaurant fame, THOMAS F. MADIGAN, autograph collector and tradesman, MRS. BROWN POTTER, former society leader, and two women dear for their associations, MRS. EUGENE FIELD and MRS. 'GENE DEBS.

L'ENVOI

As one reads over these names, one has a melancholy feeling. Of all the hundreds of thousands who have died during this twelve-month, these few only are known to fame, and of these how few will be known at all tomorrow. Already, ere this record is made, many have been quite forgotten. Most of those remembered at all are remembered, and will be remembered, only because of their more or less fortuitous association with world-shaking events. George V, for example! Only two or three—Kipling, Pavlov—will remain immortal because of the personal achievements of sheer inner genius. It all reminds us of Shelley's "Ozymandias." What is fame, after all, or power, or greatness? A floating bubble, a passing breath of wind, a fleeting blossom. How foolish those who seek "the bauble, reputation," and forget that in the end are dust and ashes! If life has meaning—and we believe it has!—it lies not in what the world can give. Gray is wrong when in his "Elegy" he mourns the "mute, inglorious Miltons." Why glory, which lasts but for its empty moment, and then passes forevermore? Better love, and devotion, and kindness, and peace than all the noise and tumult on men's lips. We count it the learning of life's lesson that, in the end, after we have tasted fame's elixir and tested fortune's ambition, we desire nothing so much as quiet and the dear companionship of beloved friends. This may mean the flesh grown weary, but we doubt it. Much more is it the heart grown wise. At last, after all our striving, we have caught the vision! Time, which turns our bodies to decay and our names to silence, only makes good what we have seen. To love greatly, and to ask nothing in return but love—this is our lesson. Alas, that we learn it so late—too late!

Jottings

They don't have to have any bull-fights in Spain now. Watching women and children killed by bombs in the streets is a much livelier sport.

Who says that the church is dying? The Duke of Windsor's refusal to go to church is first-page news for every newspaper in the world.

Premier Baldwin in a period of one year has served under three kings—George V, Edward VIII, and Albert I. We wonder if any other prime minister, in England or any other country, or in all history, can show such a record!

Professor Frederick Bergius, in his late Harvard Tercentenary address, announced the perfecting of a process for making food out of sawdust. "Sawdust," he said, "contains all the fundamental elements of nutrition." Thus, at last, is American breakfast food vindicated!

The editor of the *Week*, reporting from Spain through the "Nofrontier News Service," makes the following comment about the Moors, the troops of General Franco:

"The sexual question has also a certain military importance. In the small towns hitherto occupied by the Rebels, the commanders of the Moorish detachments have had in some cases to share out the captured women supporters of the Government among the Moors in the ratio of only one woman to twenty men. It is naturally expected that in Madrid there will be many more women available. Moorish prisoners state that this expectation is of very considerable value in keeping up the spirit of the African section of the invading troops."

Thomas Carlyle, in his essay on Jean Paul Richter, sets down a saying of Richter's, as follows:

"Providence has given to the French the empire of the land; to the English that of the sea; to the Germans that of the air!"

Was Richter, when he wrote this sentence, foreseeing the Zeppelins?

J. H. H.

My Russian Impressions*

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Translated from the Original Bengali and Copyrighted (1937) by Basanta Koomar Roy

Author of "Rabindranath Tagore: The Man and His Poetry"

I

I am in Russia at last. Whatever I see here looks wonderful. Russia is altogether different from any other country. The difference lies in the fundamentals of the foundation of things. Here they are recreating man from the top to the bottom in terms of perfect equality.

From the very dawn of human history mankind has kept down a section of society in dishonor as the underdog. They, however, constitute the majority; and yet they are like the beasts of burden. They are kept too busy even to blossom forth as human beings. They are reared on the crumbs of the prosperity of the nations. They serve the society most usefully even though they have least to eat; the least to wear; and the least of opportunity for education. They work the hardest; and yet they live disgraced the most. They constantly die of starvation; and they are always being kicked and cuffed by their masters. They stand deprived of all the opportunities and conveniences that go to make for a decent life on earth. They are the lampstands of civilization. They keep standing erect with lamps on their heads. They illumine those that are above; but their own bodies are simply smeared with oil.

I have thought of these underdogs for a long time; and I also felt that there was no remedy for these wrongs. Thus I thought within myself: It is necessary

that a section of our society should remain on the top; and how could they remain on the top if there were no one at the bottom? Unless there are some on the top we cannot see far beyond the horizon of our immediate neighborhood—and mankind was not made only for making a living. Civilization begins only when man extends his vision beyond the bounds of mere livelihood. The finest fruits of civilization have grown on the fields of leisure. The progress of civilization demands leisure. That is the reason why I was wont to think that those of our unfortunate brothers who, not merely as slaves of circumstances, but also for physical and mental equipment, are best fitted to remain in the lower stratum of society and are best fitted for that work, we of the upper classes should, to the best of our ability, try to provide for their health and happiness, their education and comforts of life.

But, the trouble is that we cannot do anything of a permanent nature as a matter of charity. If we seek to do good to any one from the outside, that goodness becomes distorted in a number of ways. Real helpfulness emanates from a perfect sense of equality. Whatever it may be, I simply could not satisfactorily solve this complex problem for myself. And yet I felt ashamed of myself to be forced to the conclusion that the pyramid of civilization could only be built on the subjection and dehumanization of the vast majority in human society—the workers of the world.

*Written in the period of 1930.—Editors.

Just think of it—England is fed fat on starving India! There are more than many in England who are absolutely convinced that the mission of India's existence is to be blessed by feeding England forever. These Englishmen argue that there could be no harm and no objection to keeping India in the slavery of dependence forever, if only England could be great herself and accomplish great things for human society. It matters little if India starves and shivers and suffers from other privations; and yet they feel that they should be generous enough to do some good to India. But, a hundred years have passed by and we are still deprived of health, wealth, and education.

The same thing holds good of the internal affairs of every nation. The man who cannot be respected by another man can never be helped by the same man. At least when interests clash, deadly conflicts begin. Russia is striving to permanently destroy the tree of this problem; root and branch. It is not time yet to pass the final judgment on the experiments in Russia; but I am simply wonder-struck by what I see at present before my eyes.

Education is the widest highway on the panorama of the problems of human society. The vast majority of human society has been deprived of the fullest facilities for education too long. In India almost everybody is deprived of this boon. One cannot help admiring the new spirit of education in Russia. Here the seeds of education are being sown in the remotest corners of society with praiseworthy enthusiasm. The test of education is not in quantity alone—it is in its virility and in its fullness. Here ample provisions are being most titanically provided, so that no man may remain helpless and workless. This is not only in European Russia; but they are also spreading education with cyclonic speed amongst the less advanced tribes and clans of Central Asia. The Russian government is sparing no efforts whatsoever to see that these peoples receive the fullest advantages of the latest achievements in modern science.

The theatres are full here. The audience is composed of farmers and workers. They certainly meet with no insults anywhere. I notice two most significant things everywhere—the awakening of the mind of the farmers and the workers; and the happiness of their sense of self-respect. Not to speak of the workers of India—there is a world of difference between the mental outlook of the workers of England and the workers here in Soviet Russia. What we are trying to do at our Agricultural Experiment Station at Bolpur, they are already doing all over Russia in a robust way. If our workers could come here to study for a while, our country could be much benefited. Every day I compare the conditions here with those that prevail in

India, and wonder at where India is today, and where she might have been! In comparison with Soviet Russia, India lives in shame.

Dr. Henry Timbers, my American companion, is studying the problems of public health here. And I simply wonder at the tremendous efficiency of new Russia in this field of activity; and I cannot but feel sad to think of our disease-ridden, starving, unfortunate and helpless India. Only a few years ago the condition of the masses of Russia was woefully on a par with that of the masses of India. But Russia's luck has so rapidly changed within such a short span of time—and we are still submerged neck-deep in the whirlpool of inertia!

I cannot, however, claim perfection for this system of education. It has some serious defects. Some day they will face troubles for this. In short, they have created moulds of educational systems. But the manhood created in moulds cannot last long. If the living mental process of man is not in harmony with a living system of education, then the mould will some day break into bits; or, man's mind will be paralyzed, or, at best, become like that of a mechanical doll.

I find that the students are divided into groups to take charge of the different activities of the boarding houses. One group takes charge of health, another of the commissariat, etc. The management is entirely in their hands; but there is only one supervisor. I have always tried to enforce such laws in our school at Bolpur. We have only written rules and regulations and we have accomplished nothing. The chief reason for such a state of affairs is that the main objective of the British department of education is to make students pass examinations. Everything else is secondary. Well, if it is done; no harm, if it is not done. Our lazy minds do not like to work beyond the bounds of direct responsibility. And, again, from our early childhood we are accustomed to memorizing our text books. It is useless to introduce innovations. It is not natural for our lawmakers—it cannot but meet with contempt.

When a thing is not spontaneous it cannot help being neglected. There is nothing more here than what I have thought and planned all these years for village reconstruction and spread of education—but they have power, they have enthusiasm, and they have the organizing power of their leaders.

I feel that much depends on the strength of the body. It is impossible to work to the best of one's ability when the body is lean with malaria and weak from starvation. The bones of the people of this cold climate are strong, so they have made such tremendous progress in so short a time. It is not fair to count the national workers in India by their numbers, for every worker in India is not fully a man.

The Cry of a Liberal

I cannot be bound to my half-life,
Devoted to state, church and custom;
It wastes me and sears me, contracts me.
Within cries the voice of my longing,
Seeking a free man, finding a slave man,
Singing adventure to the crushed and the broken,
Striving for life come to fullness and joy.
I must not be bound to love's splendid service
With ties that smother me, make my spirit hostage

To ills that reckon with love's obligations,
Whipping me, stripping me, confronted with
wrongs,
As well take the change of direct prostitution
For the glow and the show of fine living.
I fret in the cages of my own fell construction,
Cages of cowardice, weakness and sloth.
I wrestle with chains of my own slow forging,
For freedom is burgeoned by the toil of life's tilling.

—HOMER LEWIS SHEFFER

The Reëlection of President Roosevelt and Its Significance in World Politics

TARAKNATH DAS

The reëlection of President Roosevelt will have tremendous effect on the internal condition of America. In this article, we are not going to discuss this effect, but must take the question into account, since the foreign policy of a country is often influenced by its internal condition.

Opponents of President Roosevelt charged that he was bent upon destroying the Constitution of the United States, and that, if reëlected, he would be a dictator. They also charged that his reëlection would ruin this country from the standpoint of economic recovery. Apparently twenty-five millions of voters in the United States did not believe these charges and interpreted them as malicious propaganda. The masses of the people not only felt that the economic and industrial recovery of the land was due to the so-called New Deal measures, but also believed that, if the reactionaries could defeat Mr. Roosevelt, then all progressive social legislation—abolition of child labor, old age pensions, unemployment relief and the protection of working-men through their rights of collective bargaining—championed by Mr. Roosevelt, would be discarded.

The Roosevelt victory may be regarded as a guaranty of a real economic revival of the country based upon social justice. It is a blow to the philosophy of Fascism. There is no reason to think that the United States is on the way to inflation. This is already proved by the fact that industrialists and ordinary investors at home and those abroad are looking forward with confidence regarding the future of the United States. It may be noted that, during the last few years, no less than five billions of dollars have been sent to the United States by foreign investors for the purchase of American securities. This fact alone is sufficient to prove that the capitalist world thinks that the United States is the safest land for investment. The United States during the coming few years will probably see greater prosperity, increasing American economic and industrial power, national solidarity, and less unrest. This will certainly increase the prestige of the United States in the field of diplomacy.

Mr. Roosevelt is one of the few American presidents who, before assuming his exalted office, had a clear idea of what should be the foreign policy of the United States. During his first term, he tried to carry out his policy in an unerring manner. I have discussed the fundamental principles governing President Roosevelt's foreign policies in another place;¹ and here I wish to state that during his second term the general trend of his foreign policy will be furtherance of peace and better understanding among nations under the guise of the "good neighbor policy." To be concrete:

(a) During the first term of his office, President Roosevelt pursued a policy of better understanding between the United States and all the Central and South American republics by giving a pledge of non-intervention in the affairs of the Latin American states. He even abrogated the Platt Amendment to convince the Cuban people and all the South American republics that the United States did not want to interfere with or restrict the functions of sovereignty of Cuba and other nations.

This policy of coöperation with Latin American republics has been championed most intelligently by U. S. Secretary of State, Hon. Cordell Hull. In the Buenos Aires Conference, Secretary Hull undertook to continue this policy and to further the cause of peace, arbitration, peaceful coöperation by signing a series of international agreements which would make war impossible in the American continents.

(b) During the first term of his presidency, President Roosevelt took the initiative in establishing cordial relations with Soviet Russia. In spite of much talk of Communist influence over the President, it may be safely said that it was the influence of the American Government, more than any other, that induced the Soviet authorities to give up their program of world revolution and also the form of government based upon the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Soviet Russia's new Constitution bears indications of the influence of the ideals of the government of the United States. It is safe to assert that President Roosevelt will not follow any anti-Russian policy, or the policy of isolation of Russia as advocated by some European states.

(c) This policy of President Roosevelt has already produced a significant impression upon the statesmen of Great Britain, who fully realize that the British government for its own interests must be on closest friendly terms with the government of the United States. This is evident from the recent speeches of Lord Halifax in the House of Lords, and of Hon. Anthony Eden and Hon. Neville Chamberlain in the House of Commons (delivered two days after the election of President Roosevelt), when those statesmen made it clear that, while seeking the friendship of Germany and Italy, Britain would not be a party to any movement for the isolation of Russia, nor will she follow a policy detrimental to the ideal of collective security. Mr. Chamberlain emphasized the need of Anglo-American coöperation for the cause of world peace.

(d) Mr. Roosevelt's reëlection heartened the French government to such an extent that the French Chamber of Deputies adopted a resolution congratulating the President. This is due to the fact that President Roosevelt has sincere sympathy for the French government, which is trying to carry on experiments of liberalism through far-reaching reforms and its program of preservation of peace through collective security. Even before the election of Mr. Roosevelt for a second term, he aided the cause of economic recovery of France and made a tacit agreement with France and Britain for stabilizing world currencies. America under President Roosevelt will use her financial power to the fullest extent to bring about economic recovery in Europe, upon which American prosperity depends so largely. War and economic waste are synonymous; and President Roosevelt will throw the full weight of American influence to the cause of peace and prosperity.

(e) The United States is not a member of the League of Nations, yet when the Italo-Abyssinian War broke out, President Roosevelt not only condemned aggressive war, but set an example to the nations to use collective action, economic sanctions, against the aggressor nation. He urged American businessmen not

¹Taraknath Das: *Foreign Policy in the Far East*. Pp. 213-260. (New York: Longmans Green, 1936.)

to export war materials to the warring nations. He did not put an *embargo against* shipping war materials to Italy, because such action would have been unconstitutional. Furthermore, the United States Congress refused to pass a far-reaching neutrality law, restricting exportation of war materials, because Great Britain, Russia and Rumania—all members of the League of Nations—were supplying "oil" used by Italian war-planes. It is certain that President Roosevelt will advocate a policy of neutrality which will be of tremendous consequence.

It is expected that the President will not advocate America's entry into the League of Nations, but use American influence to strengthen the nations of Europe which are furthering the cause of peace. Mr. Roosevelt, strengthened by his victory in the last election and supported by Latin American republics, will not support those nations which are opposed to the settlement of international disputes through peaceful means of arbitration or judicial determination. As things stand today, it seems that the President will throw the weight of his influence on the side of Great Britain, France, and Russia. It is safe to assert that Mr. Roosevelt, while refusing to participate in any European war, will use his power and the authority of the United States of America against any nation that may be classed as an aggressor. This fact alone will have a far-reaching effect in world politics.

(f) When the President took office in 1933, American-Japanese relations were at a breaking-point on the question of the Japanese policy of creating a new state of Manchukuo. Although Mr. Roosevelt accepted the policy of non-recognition of Manchukuo, as urged by the former Secretary of State, Hon. Henry Stimson, he refused to pursue a policy of aggressive antagonism towards Japanese expansion in Asia, since such a policy might have led to an American-Japanese war. However, the President aided the cause of China and Russia effectively by extending economic support and moral aid to these nations and thus followed the policy of applying indirect pressure against Japan. He also adopted the program of building up the American navy to such an extent that American diplomacy, reinforced by the navy, would not suffer defeats as was the case during the administration of President Hoover.

It is to be expected that President Roosevelt will not follow any active anti-Japanese policy, but will coöperate with all nations in the Far East to preserve peace. I have already indicated that the President may extend moral support to Great Britain, France, and Russia in Europe. If this be true, then he will also support the policies of these powers in the Far East. The government of the United States will pursue the traditional policy of friendship towards China. The United States, under the leadership of President Roosevelt, may continue to refuse to go to war to help China, yet will extend its support, within certain limits, to check further Japanese expansion in Asia at the cost of Russia and China. However, the Roosevelt administration will not follow the policy of bluffing Japan, as was done by the Hoover administration. In this connection, it is interesting to note that during the last few weeks, in the Sino-Japanese negotiations, the Chinese authorities are taking a firm stand against Japanese demands on certain issues which may be regarded as objectionable by the American government.

(g) President Roosevelt's policy towards the people of the Philippines is the best index of his sympathy for all oppressed peoples struggling for the recovery of their legitimate sovereign rights. Although extremely friendly to Great Britain, the administration of Mr. Roosevelt will sympathize with the people of India seeking for self-determination. Similarly the American government will use its influence to persuade Great Britain to keep her promise to the Jews of the world, so that there will be really a Jewish home in Palestine. This must not be taken to mean that President Roosevelt is opposed to Arab aspirations. On the contrary, the Arabs in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Iraq, will receive the full coöperation of the American government in their desires for self-determination. But the United States will use its influence against continued persecution of the Jews and will support the cause of establishing a Jewish homeland in the line of the "Seventh Dominion" as advocated by Hon. Col. Wedgewood and other pro-zionist British statesmen. President Roosevelt's sympathy towards the Jews is based upon his love for justice and his devotion to the cause of equal rights for minorities.

(h) President Roosevelt is not an absolute pacifist, although he hates war. He knows that a successful diplomacy, advocating the policy of peace, must be supported by a powerful army and navy. For this reason the Roosevelt administration will build up one of the most powerful navies and air-forces in the world. Woodrow Wilson was elected for the second term as the President of the United States, because "he kept us out of war." But after the election, he led America into the World War with the honest conviction that he was fighting for the cause of righteousness, justice, and democracy. President Roosevelt has repeatedly said that he hated war; yet it is to be expected that he will use American power to enforce peace and if necessary side with those nations which would oppose "an aggressor nation."

(i) While furthering the cause of peace, President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull will carry on the program of removing trade barriers among nations by signing more reciprocal commercial treaties with all nations. It is interesting to note that the British Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, after the reelection of President Roosevelt, expressed his support of America's international economic policy.

During his second term of office, President Roosevelt will make his influence greatly felt in the field of international politics; and the weight of American support will play a very important part in world affairs. If this be the case, and I have no doubt of it, *the real significance of President Roosevelt's victory in the recent election will be a growing American influence in world affairs; and it will be for Peace.*

The Crystal Gazer

Little laughing New Year,
You register no future fear
While you gaze with starry eyes; . . .
A crystal-gazer, young and wise.
Is the fateful reading plain?
Tell us that through your brief reign
The world shall right itself again
And peace descend upon all men.

—MARY WARD.

The Henry George Point of View

B. W. BURGER

Why is it that a reform as eminently just as that proposed by Henry George should be so long delayed in finding common acceptance? Looking into history at other great reforms, now happily accomplished, the mystery becomes clearer.

Chattel slavery, the owning of one human being by another, was abolished in the United States only seventy years ago. In retrospect, we wonder how any one could have justified slavery. Yet we know that not only did it have earnest defenders, but men of the cloth quoted Scripture to justify it. Four years of bloody war were necessary to end it in the United States; it has not yet been abolished throughout the world. In Ethiopia, Arabia, Liberia, and Central Asia, there are today 5,000,000 slaves.

The obvious things in life escape us. The disenfranchisement of woman, another obvious evil, was abolished only after years of persistent agitation. What is more obvious than that women are affected by the political, social, and economic conditions surrounding them, and therefore have an inherent right to participate in making laws? Yet it required one hundred years of intensive agitation to secure this simple right. There are still millions of men, and women too, who look with disfavor upon woman suffrage. That women have not made the best use of their newly acquired right is beside the point. They have a right, an *inherent right*, with their brothers, fathers, and husbands, to determine the conditions under which they live and work and raise their children. They had to fight long and hard to acquire that right.

In the same way, we marvel how other terrible customs of our hoary past could have been defended. Yet we know there were those who justified them, every one; cannibalism, slavery, witchcraft, disenfranchisement of woman, absolute monarchies, and, in modern times, war, religious strife, race hatred, misappropriation of rent, and many other wrongs.

The obvious is not always obvious to those who live amidst evil; the obvious is not always obvious to those who participate in it, and are its immediate beneficiaries. Only a handful, fired with the divine faculty of imagination, conceive a world free from injustice, strife, suffering.

Fate has ever been unkind to rebels against injustice. Most people, even if uncomfortable, object to being disturbed. They are victims of inertia. They prefer the status quo. Their attitude subconsciously is "If you ask me to work, I'll hate you; if you ask me to think, I'll kill you."

Henry George's reform must contend with still another difficulty. It is fundamental. It is truly radical in that it probes down to root causes. *It asserts that those who labor shall receive the fruits of their labor.* Georgists fear not to be called radical. They recall that that word derives from the Latin *radix*, meaning root. What more rational way to correct an evil than to probe down to its root causes? Only as you abolish root causes can you truly cure.

The Georgist philosophy is a philosophy of freedom; freedom for the individual to express himself, limited only by the equal freedom of every other individual. The supreme value of mankind is the human individual, and the human individual can realize him-

self only in free and creative coöperation with his fellows. Only in a free society can man produce efficiently and abundantly. The Georgist's viewpoint is that of Diogenes, who, when asked by Alexander what the King could do for him, proudly replied, "Only keep out of my sunlight."

Today, liberty has been surrendered by 500,000,000 people, to whom Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and other dictators *falsely* have promised economic security. "The love of liberty," wrote Hazlitt, "is the love of others; the love of power is the love of ourselves." We perceive that freedom must be a chimera where a few can charge the many rent for our common Mother, the Earth.

Georgists recognize that all attempts to interfere with natural law must fail, and, failing, must lead to coercion and further restraint on individual freedom, because, basically, they are unsound.

Like Boston, which has been called "a state of mind," Henry George's philosophy can find acceptance only among thoughtful people. It can be grasped only by those who

1. Sense a Divine Order in the universe and joyfully acquiesce therein.
2. Love liberty for her own sake, perceiving that the ever-present tendency of government is to arrogate to itself more and more power over the lives and destinies of individuals, and thus to curtail, and, eventually, destroy liberty.
3. Understand the fundamental laws of the science of Political Economy.
4. Can reason from cause to effect.

Herbert Spencer truly said that only a high type of human being can make democracy succeed. Henry George's philosophy can touch only men and women of fine intuitions who possess what educators term "a sense of awareness"; men and women who can distinguish between "mine and thine" on the one hand, and "ours" on the other; for we see things not as they are, but as we are.

To understand the Georgist philosophy requires a new orientation, or new viewpoint. In ancient times, men built their temples so that worshippers at the altar faced the rising sun. As the worshippers prayed, their faces were suffused with the sun's rays. The location of a structure thus to face the sun eventually came to be defined by the verb, "To orient." Later the noun "orientation" was developed, as significant of articulation with, and adjustment to, one's environment.

What do we mean when we say one must be properly orientated to grasp political economy? Simply, that he must understand fundamental economic principles; he must grasp his relationship to the globe on which he lives, and from which he draws his sustenance. *He must recognize that the globe has none of the characteristics of property.*

Six qualities distinguish land from property:

1. The earth on which we live was not produced by any human being, but is the gift of the Creator for the equal use of all his children.
2. It is limited in quantity.
3. It is essential to our existence, because we can produce nothing without it.

4. It does not owe its value to anything which landowners choose to put on it.

5. It owes its value entirely to the presence and activities of the community.

6. It cannot be carried away or concealed.

Indeed these are unique qualities.

Significantly, no form of wealth possesses a single one of these characteristics.

Georgists must prove that rent is publicly created and therefore belongs to the community.

First, they must convincingly show that man lives on the earth; that out of that earth, labor must fashion its habitations, whether rude huts or the most magnificent palaces; on that earth, man must lovingly tend his animals, in order that he may have meat and drink, leather and wool; on that earth, labor must tickle the soil to grow fruits, vegetables, and grains; over that earth, man must operate trains, ships, and automobiles to transport himself and his products; under the waters of that earth, he must operate submarines; and in the air, airplanes; on the earth, as teacher, doctor, lawyer, preacher, newspaperman, actor and in a thousand other trades and professions, he must minister to the efficiency, comfort, mental and spiritual advancement of his fellow toilers.

The first point to drive home is that man, in his physical aspects, at least, is a land animal. He is chained to this ball called the earth, his activities are limited to the earth. At death the elements constituting his body again return to earth.

You say this is obvious?

Try out the next ten men you meet. Learn, in amazement, how many consider land, now, unessential.

"We don't need land any more," they will tell you. "We live in cities, in six-story buildings."

They feel they have clinched their argument with a devastating question: "Don't you know you can get all the land you want, out West, for nothing?"

Socialists, Technocrats, and Communists glibly speak of machines "manufacturing clothing and shoes, and becoming so efficient that human labor soon will become unnecessary." (Of course, machines never produced anything. All a machine does is to aid labor, transform raw material extracted from the earth, into shapes, forms, sizes, colors, and conditions suitable for human needs.)

Socialists seriously will inform you that machinery and factories now are more important than land. If they lived on the ground, in tents, they might concede that land was essential; living instead in six-story tenements, they remain blissfully ignorant of their dependence on earth. It signifies little to them that tenements rest on ground; that bricks and lumber and stone have been fashioned by labor from materials extracted from earth.

If, every morning, chanticleer-like, they had to scratch the ground for their grain, they would see that food is produced by labor expended on earth; using condensed milk and canned vegetables they suffer the hazy notion that, somehow, it originates in factories.

Georgists place the emphasis on the essential, land; Socialists place the emphasis on the non-essential, capital. Henry George held that Socialism was not radical; it failed to reach down to root causes.

Secondly, Georgists must establish that all human beings have an equal right to live on this earth, or, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, "An

unalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Since the American and French revolutions this has not been so vehemently disputed, although there are still many who believe the contrary, if we may judge by their actions. Witness the discriminations against our black brothers; the prejudice against Jews and Catholics, Negro lynchings, race-riots, "Jim Crow" laws, Klu-Klux Klans, Russian pogroms, Hitlerism. Most of these antagonisms, to be sure, stem from economic injustice.

The basis for the assertion of human equality is that every human being, *because he is a human being*, has indefeasible worth, and, therefore, is entitled to honor and respect. True, a human being may fail to exhibit his Godlike qualities; he may, in fact, express his lower nature, but potentially we recognize every human being as a divine being whom we are to honor and respect. Our task, constantly, is to elicit this higher nature, and, to the degree that we succeed, we thereby release the same higher nature in ourselves. This great spiritual truth has been developed by religion and ethics.

The third point, a corollary, flows from the two points I have just discussed. The earth cannot be "owned" any more than air or sunshine, or the flowing rivers, or the mighty mountains, *because it was not produced by human beings*. Anything human beings produce and consume may be owned. Land cannot be produced or consumed, therefore cannot be owned. A title to land is merely a franchise to use; in this distinction lies the fundamental difference between a title to land and a bill of sale of goods. Each generation may freely suckle earth's breast but may not foreclose succeeding generations of their equal right.

The fourth point, that rent is a differential which measures the desirability of different locations, presents a problem in inductive reasoning in the science of political economy. David Ricardo, in 1817, enunciated this law of rent.

The fifth point (probably the most difficult for beginners to comprehend) follows: Applying rent to our common needs and abolishing taxation, we, *in effect*, establish the equal right of every human being to live.

When, and only when, all these points have convincingly been proved have Georgists established their case.

Long before Henry George, thousands of years ago in fact, wise philosophers, great religious leaders, and deep thinkers in the realm of political economy, had reflected on the fundamental differences between land and those things men, by their hands and brains, fashion out of land.

Henry George's distinctive contribution to the science of political economy consisted in showing that as we applied rent to our common needs and abolished taxation, we made *real* this inherent right of every human being to live equally with his fellows. Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and Herbert Spencer, among others, had missed this vital point.

Before essaying to solve the enigma of deepening poverty alongside greater progress, Henry George devoted a chapter of twenty-six pages in *Progress and Poverty* to economic terms. In similar fashion, geometry, which, like political economy, is an exact science, first defines its terms, and sets up axioms and postulates before offering its problems for solution.

How can Georgists explain their philosophy to Socialists, for example, who conceive capital as monopoly; or to the man in the street to whom the word landlord signifies only the individual who owns the building wherein he lives, who in many cases only leases the ground, and therefore is not a landowner? Most of us never pause to consider that land has a value separate, distinct, and apart, from the improvements in, on, or above it, which value is susceptible of easy admeasurement.

In *Alice in Wonderland* Humpty Dumpty says: "When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less."

Alice replies:

"The question is, whether you can make words mean so many different things."

Humpty Dumpty retorts:

"The question is, which is to be the master. That's all."

So far most students of political economy have been Humpty Dumpties.

Likewise, the terms wealth and property, as commonly used, include land, and the things labor produces from land.

Real estate and real property, even in law, include both of these diverse, unrelated elements.

The term profits, in common parlance, may sig-

nify wages, interest, rent, any two of these, or all three. Ask the next person who speaks about "production without profit" which of these seven possible concepts he has in mind.

The term rent, in political economy, signifies only payment for land. In everyday speech, erroneously, it includes also interest on capital invested in buildings.

It is of vital importance that political-economic terms signify to our listeners exactly what they do to us. If we conceive a triangle to be a four-sided figure, can we solve a problem in geometry? Can an Englishman convey a thought to a Spaniard except in a common tongue?

The story of an American traveler in Spain is pertinent. Being very thirsty after a hot summer-day's journey, he sought a glass of milk. Unable to make known his wants in the vernacular, he sketched a cow on the bill of fare. Within two minutes the waiter returned with front seat tickets to a bull fight! (Incidentally this confirms my statement that we see things not as *they* are but as *we* are.)

Once you have grasped the simple laws of political economy you cannot help enrolling under the banner of Henry George. "Correct thought," he wrote, "must precede right action. Where there is correct thought, right action will follow."

A Day in the Tomato Fields

FRANK S. HARWOOD

My son, desiring to do outdoor work between school sessions, and needing every available dollar to help pay his expenses to college, secured a job on a fruit and vegetable farm. Since I am a teacher with several weeks of freedom in the summer, I was not sorry when a chance came for me also to earn a little extra there during the busiest weeks. It has been twenty-five years since I left my father's tobacco farm in Virginia and went away to college and to professional life. This return to manual labor was very interesting to me for several reasons.

I was interested to see what kind of people would be doing this work. First of all, there were the owner and his four sons, the sons being fine, young, unmarried men ranging in age from about eighteen to twenty-six. Two of them had had a little college experience, but for financial or other reasons were no longer in school. My son and three other young chaps were definitely enrolled as college students. Two boys around twelve years of age were also employed, one of them a rural preacher's son, full of questions and good-natured nonsense but not very industrious. Maybe he was sent to the fields because he was a nuisance at home—he was more or less that here. Several people were engaged at the packing house with whom we had little or no contact. And not to be forgotten was an old man named Zebadiah, called Zeb for short.

My introduction to Zeb was in the words of the owner the morning I first entered the field to pick tomatoes. After showing me just what degree of ripeness was desired he said: "I must go back to the packing house. If there is anything you want to know just ask Zeb for he has worked here a good many years and knows what I want." Immediately I wondered when and what I would hear from this old man, this field boss, so to speak. I soon found out.

Zeb was past his most active years and it was not difficult to move faster than he did. Of course, he looked upon me not only as a green hand at picking tomatoes, which was true, but also as utterly unacquainted with hard work of any kind. Therefore, I was not much surprised, though slightly irritated, soon to hear him call me and see him standing between my rows holding a tomato. "Ye're leavin' 'em, Mister! Goin' too fast! No use goin' so fast. Pick 'em close!" I answered "O. K.," but resolved to see, the next time I carried out a basket, if he was not leaving them too. Sure enough I saw, plain as day, several on his rows like the one he accused me of leaving. But I said nothing as I did not want to seem "wise" the first thing.

But when, in a few minutes, he hopped on the preacher's son, who was not a new worker, the conversation was less one-sided. "Hey there, dominie, what's the matter with yer! Can't yer see them ripe tomatoes? Yer might jes well not call yerself pickin'!" "Ain't I gittin' 'em?" was the reply. "Where's any ripe ones?" "Right here, plenty of 'em. First thing yer know I'm goin' ter hit yer with a rotten tomato! That'll be cat-sup, all right!" It was not hard for the "dominie" to detect the note of mock-seriousness in Zeb's voice, so he answered, "O. K. I'll pick everything, ripe and green ones, and be done with it."

Within an hour Zeb was on my row again remonstrating with me. "No use goin' so fast. Yer want ter learn, don't yer? Ain't no use ter talk ter that — — dominie. Yer don't want ter be like him."

We all look very critically upon any one who breaks into our realm as a beginner. Perhaps even magazine editors notice faults in new writers which they disregard in the old stand-bys. Instead of taking the old codger very seriously, I was philosophizing about him in my own mind. No doubt he was jealous of me for

one thing, because I was working a little faster than he was. Also, here was another case of a petty boss enjoying his chance to be important. I had seen others like him on my father's farm years ago. The pity is that in the factories such men develop into unbearable tyrants. I knew it was doing him a world of good to talk big, and it was not in me to deny him the pleasure. Underneath his crusty exterior, I imagined was a good heart after all. Furthermore, I was constantly amused at his flow of language, so intimately associated with every phase of human sewage, not because I enjoyed the filth itself but because he kept repeating things certain men used to say in the fields when I was a boy. How was it that this old man, five hundred miles from where I was brought up, knew and used the exact thoughts and words and snatches of lewd songs I had not heard for twenty-five years? Indeed, I had thought them peculiar to the people of my native section, but here they were as alive as ever in a different time and in a far distant region! Surely these laborers use a universal language.

The other thing I was interested in was the ambitions, if any, of these workers. And it must be acknowledged that I had happened into a rather remarkable group of farm laborers. It is easy to dismiss some of them in a few words. Zeb of course was old, and, though grumbling at times about the monotony of the labor and the smallness of the pay, he never hinted of any hopes of better conditions for himself. I wondered what he looked forward to when some stroke of fate should disable him. Perhaps he was not greatly worried. I suppose he thought nothing in later life could be much worse than the endless days of hard work he had always endured. The younger boys can be described as being chiefly interested in two things: the construction of model airplanes, and what it would be like to enter high school in the fall.

But now to begin with one of the sons of the owner. He was different from the others. The other three were steady and apparently resigned to the small but regular earnings secured from their father. No doubt they were looking forward to becoming part-owners some day. Their interests were, as far as I could judge, centered in the successful maintenance of the estate. But the one I first mentioned was very talkative, in some ways rather brilliant, yet lacking the element of steadiness possessed by the others. He it was who could "spiel" on and on unceasingly about what was wrong with farming. He was disgusted beyond measure because the price of tomatoes fell suddenly so that they were scarcely worth picking, and he could tell all about why this was so. He was versed in the facts about the control of farm prices by one or more large corporations. Plainly, he was greatly dissatisfied with his lot and did not mind saying that he was. Be it said, he was not getting much sympathy from the rest of the family, for he had, in their opinion, thrown up the chance of a lifetime to get an education. For six weeks just previous to this time he had been a student at West Point Military Academy, and for reasons which he thought good and sufficient he had quit. Every one was more or less down on him for thus giving up such an opportunity. I, being opposed to military matters, was especially interested to know more about his reasons for quitting. Feeling somewhat sorry for him, I said I never liked all this war stuff anyway and that maybe he was just as well off not to get into that kind of life. He replied he had never intended to continue in military service but had expected to get an education and

then resign. Then he went on to tell of his impressions. He said all the cadets did was to "drink and drag," drink liquor and drag girls around on their arms. This he did not care for. He said the methods of instruction were antiquated. All the professors did was to assign ten pages for a lesson and then give a "writ" or test. His remarks were mixed along with occasional demonstrations of how the officers gave orders. This he did for the amusement of the boys. I asked him if he noticed that the light fixtures in the chapel were in the shape of shells! Were they meant to symbolize the light of the gospel shining through these instruments of death? After all he said against the institution, much of which I could appreciate and approve, I could not forget the disfavor into which he had brought himself among his brothers, and I wondered if he could ever live it down. His father especially was disappointed. As nearly as I could gather, his father had not wanted his son to become a general, but he had hoped so much to see him get an education and find some way to make more of life than he ever could do on a farm. Here his boy had at last successfully passed the strenuous examinations, secured the appointment, started in, and then quit to come back to the hard life of the farm with all its uncertainties.

And now something about the other young college men. The experience I have just related seemed to increase their determination to go on with schooling, and to find something better for a life's work. One of them became somewhat exhausted and sat down to rest. Zeb said, "Gittin' tired, heh? S'pose yer had ter do this kind of work all yer life?" "I just wouldn't do it!" was the quick reply. "Believe me, I'm starting a better job next week." "An' what do yer call a better job?" asked Zeb. "More pay and shorter hours!" came the answer which had been prepared long before the question was asked.

I might go on to show more of what various ones said about their plans, but it will be enough to give a few of my reflections on their ambitions. Not once was any thought of social good stressed in what they said, and no wonder. These boys are products of a predatory system which drives their hopes and efforts into selfish channels. All the time they are thinking of how they can be successful in doing what they want to do and in accumulating something of wealth. Which reminded me of my early hopes and ambitions, many of them unrealized! After all, maybe it is well that they are not realized, for most of the so-called "success" is built on the disappointments of others. For example, take the case of writers. Recently I entered a contest by a well-known magazine for the best article by an amateur writer. To the amazement of every one, over forty-three thousand articles were submitted. Now undoubtedly many of them were excellent, but only one could possibly get the \$1,000 prize. I have had enough experience myself in acting as judge in writers' contests to know that a decision is not always easy to reach. Sometimes among many manuscripts the lucky one is chosen almost by the toss of a coin, or by the influence of some minor matter which in no way eliminates the worth of many rejected papers. In this particular contest that I entered I wanted the prize, I needed the money desperately, but had I got it my joy would not have been complete because of a realization that my success was built at least partly on the disappointments of the competitors.

One more example! My ten-year-old car gave out completely a few weeks ago and I had to get another. I bought a new one, though a second-hand car would

have fitted my purse better. It is surely a pleasure to feel the splendid performance of the new piece of machinery, but I also feel the longing looks cast upon me by many of my acquaintances who are still driving old wrecks or none at all. Really, why should I ride in a good car and my brothers not? What satisfaction is there in a way of life in which such unfair differences occur, of which my recent purchase is but a slight example? Such thoughts have robbed me of the ambition to excel in the ordinary meaning of the word. The only real delight now comes from any accomplishment I may make toward creating a desire for and a way to a social order in which the prize will not go to a favored few but in which more and more people will have an abundance of the good things.

I keep thinking of the thousands and thousands of Zebadiahs, old and tired and footsore, with a life history of hard work behind them, and with a future no more certain than that somebody will have to take care of them. It is not enough different from the Middle Ages. Then the barons and lords lived on the fruit of the peasant's labor. Now "successful" directors of fruit and vegetable corporations thrive on the work done by tottering old Zebadiahs and vigorous young college fellows. The former have no hope. The latter will get "a better job next week" if possible rather than remain "just a farmer," only to find that in most cases they cannot escape the stranglehold of an economic system which uses them at will and spurns them with caprice. What is the result? From Zebadiah flows a stream of empty language revealing his deadened mind, and the college boys spur themselves on trying to be among the few who will reach the top and get some of the gravy. Why should there be so much of a "top" to seek and so much of a "bottom" to avoid? Surely the idea that all men

are created equal is nonsense, or else our boasted economic individualism has proved itself a curse rather than a blessing. The truth is there is no such thing as individualism. It is the collectivism of the economic governing groups that has enabled them to line up the rest of us for their advantage. The sooner we all accept the regimentation necessary for the welfare of all, the better will be our world.

I keep thinking of the young man who gained admission to West Point Military Academy because he wanted an education but could not stomach the discipline. And I remember that it was the perversion of international relations as symbolized by military leadership that brought about the World War, which cost enough to furnish these ambitious young fellows a free college education of the right kind under normal conditions. What a crime that a youth should be tempted to prostitute his very soul by seeking admission to one of these military colleges simply because he cannot finance a course elsewhere! The greater the shame when it is realized how abundant the free opportunities for higher education might be but for the waste of war! It is hard to get pleasure out of teaching our youth to become good citizens when we know that they are almost compelled to join the race for military and economic supremacy instead of peaceful coöperation in those things that bless mankind.

So we are terribly oppressed with a great feeling of dissatisfaction which we cannot always shake off while we keep spiritual companionship with the prophets, the lonely prophets. It would be dark indeed were it not for the fact that our souls, possessed with an undying flame, are now and then lighted up with hope, and when they are they flame like glowing slivers dipped into pure oxygen.

American Notes

SYDNEY STRONG

The editor has kindly asked me to send in for UNITY occasional "American Notes." I gladly comply and will send a few hundred words each time.

The first "American Note" will take the reader to Killdeer, North Dakota. There is located Avery D. Weage, the youthful pastor of the Congregational Church. He is a real "American." Killdeer has about 600 inhabitants. Avery also serves Halliday, of the same size, twenty-five miles away—also Dunn Center, halfway between the two.

I knew Avery when he was in our Queen Anne Sunday School and when he attended our High School and University. He went over to Eugene, Oregon, where he served as a librarian; there he met Jean, who became his wife. Together they went to the Chicago Theological Seminary—later they took charge of a Quaker Church, near Albany, N. Y. Then came a call to the Killdeer Church. He and Jean did not have children enough, so they adopted twins.

Avery is real stuff. It is worth knowing that he came out of Oberlin, and in the ancestral line there is an occurrence, which is one of those dramatic incidents of Providence. A hundred years ago, Oberlin was discussing the question of whether or not to admit Negroes as students to the College. Finally, the question came up to the Board of Trustees for decision! It was a tie vote! And then, after prayer, the chair-

man gave the deciding vote—Negroes were admitted! And Oberlin started on her glorious history for human freedom in American life! The man who cast the deciding vote was "Father Keep"—and he was Avery's great grandfather. A "note" worth remembering!

To complete this "American Note" let me say that the mail last week brought me several copies of a 42-page booklet by and from Avery of Killdeer, North Dakota. The booklet is named *A Lyric of War and Other Songs*. A note to Avery D. Weage, Killdeer, will result in receiving a copy of the attractive booklet. There are about fifty poems in all, divided into (1) Social Issues, (2) Boy and Girl Songs, (3) Resources for Living. One is startled to read:

"If God were unemployed, he would face there alone
The wintry storm beating against his temples,
He'd wonder about his wife and his little Jane,
But people would hurry by—
They would never see—
If God were out of work."

Or another,

"We shall march on forever, forever,
Silent and gaunt and hungry,
Loved of our mothers and brothers,
Dearly beloved in the eyes of God."

Or another,

"My teacher told me long ago
When I was still a child,
That you and I were civilized,
And Indians were wild."
"But I have wandered through the world
Until it seems to me,
That Indians are tame and drab
Compared with you and me."

Or another,

"If you'd give me a little smile
And think that I was good,
My heart would laugh, and while it laughed—
I'd be the best I could."

The second "American Note" will take the reader to Washington, D. C. My morning paper contained the information that America—in the making of a pact to include France, and Britain, and America—was protesting because Britain would have the monopolistic control of all trans-Atlantic telephoning from Europe to America. What surprises me is that Washington was apparently not aware of the fact before. If Washington were wise enough to read *UNITY*, she would know as far back as 1931 and 1932, that your humble servant, among others, pointed out that it was impossible to telephone from Geneva and other parts of Europe to America, without going through London. I wondered at the time that no one representing our

government was bright enough to see this—also to discern the vital importance of communication between nations. I pointed out at the time that Britain practically dominated all the communications of the world. I also pointed out the fact that while scores of English writers appeared in American papers, rarely did an American writer appear in a London daily, and I read all the London big dailies for two years while in Geneva.

I can think of nothing more important for the defense of America than to have her lines of communication not only open to all the world, but free from the possibility of censorship of neighbors. Surely we cannot depend upon our neighbors to convey to us our information only as they may see fit. . . . Further, if there is to be understanding between Britain and America—a most desirable thing—it can come only through intelligence with writers contributing in the press—from both sides of the ocean. This is an "American Note" which I wish might be seen and struck over and over again. I am surprised that Washington is surprised at this late day, when an unprofessional observer like myself discerned it back in 1931. Before that even, when Lindbergh telephoned his mother after his arrival in Paris, he had to do it through London. Positively this should be remedied—and by Washington!

The Study Table

Education

LIVING THROUGH BIOGRAPHY: THE HIGH TRAIL. 340 pp. 96 cents. ACTIONS SPEAK, 340 pp. 96 cents. REAL PERSONS. 340 pp. 96 cents. By Edwin Diller Starbuck and the Staff of the Institute of Character Research, University of Southern California. *Yonkers-on-the-Hudson, New York: World Book Company.*

Out of vital scholarship, careful research, and wide experience, Dr. Edwin D. Starbuck, together with his staff, has produced a biographical series, designed especially for the grades of six to nine, but of general interest and value to all ages. Dr. Starbuck knows that character education does not as a rule result from a frontal attack, hence these volumes aim to "influence character unobtrusively," by means of biographical material that fulfils the "natural craving for adventure and excitement," not the "usual stories of the familiar great" but those of lesser-known and morally worthy personalities of modern times. A real contribution to the literature of really religious education.

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ADULT EDUCATION. By Lyman Bryson. 208 pp. *New York: American Book Company. \$2.00.*

This is the volume for which adult education leaders have been looking. It is designed as a text for colleges and schools of education, but is indispensable for any one who takes the adult education movement seriously. The style is direct and clear-cut; the content is in balance and without dogmatism. The significance of a continuous learning process, the experience of the past in informal education, the methods and materials used today are all given due and competent consideration. Of special interest is the chapter of "The Role of the Teacher in Adult Education." Following each chapter is a list of questions for discussion. There is a good index.

STUDENT OUTLINE SERIES. *New York: Longman Greens & Company.*

A rich summary of material, arranged in orderly sequence, in 14 volumes, covering the various fields of educational interest: history, sociology, economics, government, education, psychology and literature. The price varies, but most of the volumes are 75 cents each. While not designed especially for adult groups in informal education, they are nevertheless ready guides for leaders of such groups, and may be confidently recommended to members of the groups who want factual material made readily accessible.

* * *

THE IDEAL SCHOOL. By B. B. Bogoslovsky. 525 pp. *New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.*

An enlightening discussion of educational theory cast in the form of fiction, wherein the Progressives are somewhat beaten in argument but nevertheless win important concessions in the rejection of "subject-matter boundaries" by the critics. The ideal school appears to be one where science is employed in the improvement of society and where progress is "guided by the idea of personality."

* * *

PLAIN TALK. By John W. Studebaker. 166 pp. *Washington, D. C.: National Home Library Foundation. 25 cents.*

In which the Secretary of Education affirms his belief in the ideals of Democracy and expresses his fear that "liberty" and "justice" may become empty phrases unless understood and supported by an informed public. As a means to intelligent participation in government, Mr. Studebaker advocates a wide extension of the Forum and other techniques of adult education.

CURTIS W. REESE.

America's Racial and Cultural Problems

ALIEN AMERICANS: A STUDY OF RACE RELATIONS. By B. Schrieke. 208 pp. New York: The Viking Press.

A foreigner so seldom impresses us with his knowledge of American problems that it is something of an event to find Professor Schrieke, after a brief year's sojourn, presenting a lucid and clear-cut picture of our alien populations and their problems. While *Alien Americans* is written primarily for the educated layman, even specialists may gain new insights into their own problems from his presentation.

Professor Schrieke, despite his previous lack of acquaintance with America, is no stranger to race problems. Educated in Holland, he has spent nearly eighteen years in administrative work in the Dutch East Indies where he had the difficult job of handling the many racial and cultural groups which make up "Island India."

In 1933 the Rosenwald Fund invited him to make a study of Negro life and education from the standpoint of his own quite different experiences in the Orient. His method of approach was to project the Negro problems against a background of our alien populations. The materials were gathered through reading, traveling, observation, and interviews; while few new facts are presented, he has organized the materials so as to increase our understanding of racial and cultural problems.

The volume deals briefly with the Chinese and Japanese in California, the Mexicans and Indians in the Southwest, and the Negro in the South. These are the groups in which differences in skin color and other physical characteristics make assimilation more difficult than in the case of European immigrants. The discerning reader may note the similarity of the cycle of events through which each group goes in its relations with White America, and may even try his hand at abstracting a "natural history" of race relations. In a brilliant chapter on "America and the Alien" Professor Schrieke attempts to present an analysis of this cycle in terms of social structure and social disorganization. While it may be a shock to some readers to find our "First Americans" considered as an alien group, that, objectively, seems to be the position of the American Indian.

The chapters on the Negro represent almost half of the book. Here the same factors are found to operate, often in intensified form. The economic and political factors especially are shown as solidifying the present highly unsatisfactory relationship in the South, and Professor Schrieke is realistically gloomy about the future.

The analysis of the relations of Negroes and Whites in the South is organized around two fundamental complexes: the "plantation legend" and "fear." Professor Schrieke shows how such diverse activities as disenfranchisement, segregation, economic competition, religious activities, lynching, inferiority status, etc. achieve an integration and meaning in terms of these "complexes" though he would agree that they need much further refinement before they can serve as tools for scientific investigation.

He points out the interesting paradox that while the Negro is considered an alien by White Americans, he is in many respects more "American" than they are. This is an important source of conflict for the individual Negro—any solution of his problems must reconcile this conflict.

In a final chapter, "Prejudice or Progress," Professor Schrieke deals with various attempts at solution

in terms of the economic situation. He points out the objective identity of Negro and White interests, and suggests that the development of a self-sufficient rural peasant economy is the only alternative to decline and decay. This requires coöperation. "Will it be possible to break the spell of the plantation legend?"

There is a brief "Note on Filipino Immigration," which the reviewer would have liked expanded, and a short but useful bibliography for the student. In a brief space, Professor Schrieke has done an excellent job.

FRED EGGAN.

The Causes of Anti-Semitism

ANTI-SEMITISM. By Hugo Valentin. 324 pp., New York: The Viking Press. \$3.00.

The world badly needs to get rid of intolerance. In a zeppelin-sized world we must learn to live together as brothers. Racial and religious prejudice is out of date and surely should have no place in the United States in our time. But the truth is that there is plenty of prejudice and it is very vigorous.

The author of this significant and important book is professor of history in the University of Upsala. First published in England last year, it now appears in an American edition.

If you are an honest-to-goodness American, interested in freedom and justice, it seems to this reviewer you ought to read this book. If you are a follower of Jesus, surely you will want to store these facts in your mind.

In this land of the free, men are still selling and giving away "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," even though they have been proved to be forgeries several times. They are so pernicious that we ought to know how they originated and what they are. Here are the facts.

In this book the author seeks to explain the causes of anti-semitism and to throw light on the validity of the charges most commonly brought against the Jews. He deals in particular with the anti-semitism of today.

In the opening chapters he goes very thoroughly into the history of anti-semitism from early times down through the Middle Ages to the Hitler regime. It is a thoroughly objective and scholarly study.

There are chapters on "The Jews' Financial Power," on "The Jews and Bolshevism," and on "The Jewish International."

There is need for such a book today, for in times of economic stress tensions between groups are more severe.

Professor Valentin tells a story of the bunga-bunga tree. When the yield is abundant the black natives of Australia may share its fruit with strangers. If the yield is not large, they may not share it, and in time of famine they eat the stranger.

In spite of Herr Hitler, many millions of people today know that there is no superior race. Whether we like it or not, the anthropologists insist that there is no pure race—we are mongrels! No, that is wrong, mongrels is a misnomer—we are humans. There is actually only one race.

Jews need to know that; Christians need to know it; Japanese will profit by becoming aware of it.

Professor Valentin's book is up-to-the-minute, scholarly, well-written. It is sane. It does not scream. It is an historian's careful account of anti-semitism.

JAMES M. YARD.

A New Golden Treasury

THE NEW BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE. Edited by Charles Williams. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$3.00.

The editor of this latest anthology of English verse had a good idea. Recognizing the supremacy of Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* and Quiller-Couch's *Oxford Book of English Verse*, but feeling that these wonderful volumes by no means exhausted the supply of good poetry in our literature, he resolved to make a new collection which should contain nothing which was in the two classic anthologies and at the same time should garner only pieces of "poetic importance." The book would be a wholly "new" one, and yet one worthy to be placed in the company of Palgrave and Quiller-Couch.

The result, it must be confessed, is rather disappointing, indeed almost devastating. It would seem to indicate that, glorious as English poetry is in its range and beauty, the supply of first-class material is by no means as large as we had supposed. Mr. Williams has been rigorous in his standards, and thus has proved that there is very little to be found to match the selections made by his predecessors after these two eminent critics had got through. Palgrave and Quiller-Couch, in other words, have very decidedly taken the cream of English poetic literature. For Mr. Williams there was left only the skimmed milk. This "New Book," can by no means be ranked with the great anthologies of our speech.

What shall we say, for example, of a Book of English Verse from which such poets as Thomas Gray, Oliver Goldsmith, Thomas Moore, Robert Burns, Thomas Campbell, Charles Kingsley, William Morris, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, A. E. Housman, Rudyard Kipling, and Robert Bridges are excluded. The fact that such names as these do not appear at all can only be explained by the further fact that, in this editor's judgment, these poets wrote nothing of "poetic importance" other than the pieces selected by the earlier anthologists. Mr. Williams concedes as much when he says, in his "Notes" to this volume, that "the 'Oxford Book' and Palgrave contain all the greatness of Gray, and therefore there can be none here."

As illuminating as the list of poets, included and excluded, is the content of material selected under some of the greater and more glittering names. Here, for example, are a few of Shakespeare's sonnets, but none of Milton's or Wordsworth's. Keats has not an ode to his credit in these pages, and Shelley not a lyric. Scott is represented only by a brief passage from "Marmion," and Byron only by his "Vision of Judgment" and one very minor piece. It is true that there are some poems in this book which one marvels that Palgrave and Quiller-Couch could ever have missed. Thus, there are passages from Coleridge's "Christabel" and Shelley's "Adonais," and Keat's "Hyperion." There are such single pieces as Tennyson's "Ulysses," Wordsworth's "Lines Written Above Tintern Abbey," and Matthew Arnold's "In Utrumque Paratus." One is glad to see justice done to such neglected poets as Cowper and Crabbe, and welcomes selections from the Shakespeare plays and the Milton epics. But when all is said that can be said, one must recognize that there yawns a prodigious gulf between this volume and the two with which it is deliberately brought into comparison.

None the less the book is welcome as a kind of addendum to Palgrave and the "Oxford Book." Especially should one be grateful to the editor for undertaking so unique and difficult a task and for carrying it through with such impeccable taste and judgment.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Nature in English Poetry

THE CONCEPT OF NATURE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH POETRY. By Joseph Warren Beach. 618 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$5.00.

Professor Beach has written a much needed study of the interpretation of Nature in English poetry from Wordsworth to the present day. This is one of the very best evaluations of the nineteenth century in print. It traces accurately and in detail the religious background of Wordsworth, Shelley, Goethe, Carlyle, Coleridge, Emerson, Whitman, Arnold, Tennyson, Browning, Swinburne, Meredith, Hardy, and the moderns to T. S. Eliot and after. It was a wise choice to include Goethe in the list, since his influence was so great that without him the nineteenth century would have been entirely different, both in England and in America.

The study of nature, as Professor Beach correctly sees, begins in religion. Nature is the way to religion to the naturalistic theologians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Cambridge Platonists gave a blend of the religion of Plato, and Newton, the scientist, proved to be at the same time a theologian. All these streams of thought made up the background for Wordsworth. Shelley, on the other hand, "under the influence of Godwin and French naturalistic thinkers, began as an atheist and a militant necessitarian, attributing to nature whatever, even in man's moral life, religious writers attributed to God." The Romantic poets, however, for the most part worshipped Nature, and this worship of Nature served as a bridge from religion to science as a guiding principle. Thus God, Nature (with a capital "N"), and science must be kept in mind in this order if we are to understand the religious and philosophical background of modern English and American letters.

Nature was Wordsworth's only interpreter of God. It had all His attributes. Wordsworth at one time even thought of becoming a clergyman, and his theology and poetry would have mingled without any difficulty, although he was much less orthodox in his phraseology than was Coleridge. Another influence which came with great force was German transcendentalism. Carlyle passed this on to Emerson, and it appears also in Whitman. But Goethe had in the meantime intuitively guessed at the theory of evolution which was eventually to change the worship of Nature to the worship of Science. Carlyle interests us especially, for, while he wrote under the influences of the period, he concerned himself primarily with the ever-present social and economic problem. Emerson was influenced by everybody, and the way of that influence continues to puzzle all his interpreters. He knew little German, yet from Margaret Fuller, Frederic Henry Hedge and others who did know German, he caught in a most amazing way the

essence of German thought. He interpreted to America all this, including Swedenborg. But the decline of the worship of Nature was inevitable. Matthew Arnold rejected the whole idea, but he lived before the worship of Science. He emphasized the morality of man, and thus has an importance for the present-day humanistic movement, that has been too much overlooked. Thomas Hardy, however, gave the deathblow to the worship of Nature. And here we stand today with the worship of Science challenged only by orthodox Christianity and by the non-naturalistic humanists.

CHARLES ARTHUR HAWLEY.

The Decline of Bernard Shaw

THE APPLE CART. By Bernard Shaw. New York: Brentano's. \$2.00.

TOO TRUE TO BE GOOD, VILLAGE WOOING, AND ON THE ROCKS: THREE PLAYS. By Bernard Shaw. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$2.50.

THE SIMPLETON OF THE UNEXPECTED ISLES, THE SIX OF CALAIS, AND THE MILLIONAIRESS: THREE PLAYS. By Bernard Shaw. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$2.50.

We are not going to review these plays because they are not worthy of it. Bernard Shaw, strange as it may seem, is in his dotage, at least as a dramatist. That decline of his powers, definitely forecast in the famous Preface to *Back to Methuselah*, has in these last years arrived. And the tragedy of it is that the great man does not know it. He could prophesy it afar off, but cannot now recognize it on the scene!

These plays are pretty bad—and yet not all bad! The divine fire is not quite in ashes, and flames now and again leap high to remind us of the glorious light and heat of the days when the Shavian mind was a veritable conflagration of wit and wisdom, incisive satire and inspired vision. Thus, *The Apple Cart* is a characteristic product of Shaw's genius. There are whole pages, even scenes, which seem to show the dramatist in the full possession of his unique powers. Yet as a whole it drags and peters out, and again and again lapses into utter boredom. This play will be remembered as marking the beginning of that decline which was disastrously continued in *Too True To Be Good*, and reached utter collapse in *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles*.

There are other excellent things in these volumes. The one piece wholly creditable to the master's genius and reputation is the short *Six of Calais*, a brilliant *tour de force* which crackles and burns with much of the old fire. It must be convulsing on the stage. The first act of *The Millionairess* is also hilarious. There are magnificent speeches here and there, as witness the long closing speech of *Too True To Be Good*, a piece eloquent of Shaw's own measure of his life and work, and perhaps also of his present dilemma—"I must preach and preach and preach, no matter how late the hour and how short the day, no matter whether I have nothing to say * * *." But this is prosy preaching, intolerably boring in the end. A play like *On the Rocks* would seem to be impossible as a Shavian product, were it not for *Village Wooing*, which is incredible in its silliness and sheer inanity. Vain is the hope to which Shaw seems to cling in his old age, expressed in the curtain lines of *Too True To Be Good*, that "in some pentecostal flame of revelation the Spirit will descend on me and inspire me with a message the sound whereof shall go out unto all lands and realize for us

at last the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory for ever and ever. Amen." Alas, that time, we fear, has passed.

What redeem these volumes and make them still important are the Prefaces, in which there is more of the immortal Shaw than in all seven of the dramas. Some day all the famous Prefaces will be gathered together into separate volumes, and take their place among the great essays in the English language. When this is done, the Prefaces to *The Apple Cart*, *Too True To Be Good*, and *The Simpleton* will be included, and rank among the best.

We hear of other plays by Shaw to be published and perhaps produced this coming year. This is bad news—unless the plays are also equipped with prefaces.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Book Notes

THE HERITAGE OF THE BOUNTY. By Harry L. Shapiro, 321 pp. New York: Simon and Schuster. \$3.00.

When we saw the movie *Mutiny on the Bounty*, we wondered what happened to Fletcher Christian and his fellow-mutineers after they landed on Pitcairn Island. Here is the whole historic tale by the man who "knows more about Pitcairn Island than any man alive." Mr. Shapiro certainly ought to know, for he has studied every last shred of tradition and record, giving in this volume his diary of ten days spent with the descendants of the Bounty's mutineers, and has made a detailed study of the results of the obvious "breeding and inbreeding."

As fascinating as any adventure story with the advantage of being as exact a piece of historic research as could possibly be made!

* * *

BEWILDERED PATIENT. By Marian Staats Newcomer. 323 pp. Boston & New York: Hale, Cushman and Flint. \$1.75.

As the name implies, this is a splendid book for any family that does not possess a physician as one of its members. It gives in clear, non-technical language the explanation of many diseases and their symptoms, and what to do prior to the arrival of the doctor. It relieves many fears that often torture the minds of parents about children's diseases, and gives valuable help on sex instruction, nutrition, keeping fit, and "Home Care of the Sick." Its attitude is especially healthy with regard to the relation of the physical to the psychical self in the meeting of emergencies or "Alarming Accidents." A good book to have around the home!

* * *

FREEDOM FAREWELL. By Phyllis Bentley. 484 pp. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$2.50.

A historical novel about Julius Caesar and his contemporaries by the author of *Inheritance*, *Carr*, and others. Possibly true to the social customs of Caesar's Rome, the novel certainly draws heavily on the imagination for the "historical" development of the famous Roman. Its depiction of a pirate attack at sea, of an ancient hand-to-hand battle, of the customs in the Roman Senate and courts of law, of the loose morality even of the best educated among the people, of Pompey's pride and Caesar's courage will make it fascinating to folks who love this type of novel.

Miss Bentley makes clear how the lust for power and wealth of Pompey, Crassus and Caesar brought about the downfall of the Roman Republic. It is perhaps most convincing in its contention that at Philippi freedom was lost because Brutus insisted on using violence, following once again the road that led to a still greater tyranny. This conclusion is a warning for our own day.

* * *

TWENTY YEARS UNDER THE SEA. By John Ernest Williamson. 320 pp. Boston and New York: Hale, Cushman & Flint. \$2.50.

This authentic account of the undersea filming of moving pictures by its inventor will thrill young and old alike.

You will read breathlessly, from Williamson's successful killing of the man-eating shark, through the diver's battle with the giant octopus in filming Jules Verne's *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, to the finishing of *The Mysterious Island*, the "million dollar mystery," that appeared just too late. The talkies had just appeared to charm the multitudes.

As Charles Kingsley and Karl Marx pronounced organized pseudo-religion to be the opiate of the people, this volume convincingly portrays, quite unconsciously to the author, what an opiate of the people the movie industry has become. The chapter, "A Skeleton in My Cupboard," is a genuine confession of this tool of the capitalists, used by them to give the people vicarious excitement, and to keep them contented with a bare existence.

Yet it is realistic, frank, and written in that glowing style so characteristic of the journalist that Mr.

Williamson was when the lust for undersea photography seized him that evening in Norfolk, Virginia. From these points of view it is hard to see how the volume could be done better. One lives again through those three hurricanes in the West Indies that brought death to so many. The scientific value of his career, as well as the entertainment he ever sought to provide, is obvious.

It is a book that will obtain a wide reading and do much good in revealing to the people their weaknesses in falling so often for the schemes of the "Entertainment Trust." Fifty-five full-page photographs, mostly undersea pictures, add tremendously to the charm of the book.

GEORGE MAYCHIN STOCKDALE.

The Marks of An Educated Person

- 1—An educated person has a wholesome respect for facts and realizes the importance of accuracy in the mastery of them.
- 2—An educated person has a broad understanding of diverse values and a keen appreciation of their relative significance.
- 3—An educated person has a disciplined sense of history and of his relation to future events.
- 4—An educated person has a basic knowledge of the relation of means to ends and is effective in the use of techniques.
- 5—An educated person has a sensitive conscience in his relations with other persons and a responsible awareness of his relation to society.

—CURTIS W. REESE.

The Field

(Continued from page 162)

to send in the papers, documents, and periodicals which they have stored in their attics or elsewhere. Express charges will be paid on any such collection forwarded. Especially wanted are records of peace activities, files of organizations or committees, issues of peace periodicals, posters, pamphlets, and manuscripts. Address all materials to: The Jane Addams Peace Collection, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

Naked and Unashamed

Mussolini's imperialistic war in Ethiopia was decided upon in 1933 and prepared for from that time forward. This is the fully documented statement of Marshal Emilio de Bono, first commander of the Italian troops in Africa, in a recent book published in Italy.

The cold-blooded cynicism of this volume is almost breath-taking. The world still remembers the events of last year: the Ualual incident; the investigation by the League; the protestation by Mussolini that he was fighting a war of defense; the

support of Mussolini's war by the imperialist press and by scores of Italian churchmen.

And now all of this is brushed aside with a contemptuous sneer. Already in 1933 Mussolini ordered General de Bono to prepare for the Ethiopian expedition which "must be resolved before 1936." Preparations began at once. Strategic roads were built, barracks and warehouses were erected and propaganda was started in Ethiopia against Haile Selassie which alienated no fewer than 200,000 potential Ethiopian soldiers.

The only thing that worried Mussolini was the international situation, above all, Great Britain. "You must have foodstuffs and munitions for at least three years," he wrote to his African commander, because he expected the closing of the Suez Canal and the open hostility of Britain. Meanwhile there must, of course, be plenty of conciliatory talk. "You leave with the olive branch in your pocket . . . In the meantime carry on actively your preparations," the new Italian Condottiere wrote to de Bono.

The dire results of this intrigue are well known; Ethiopia was con-

quered, the League of Nations was wrecked, a mad armament race ensued, and the second world war moved dangerously closer.

A telling blow was struck against the war system by the post-war revelations of the 1920's and by the Nye Committee of the U. S. Senate. Here was the origin of the World War in all its unbelievable detail: the stupidity of the diplomats, the recklessness of the militarists, the intrigue and profiteering of the munitions makers, bankers, and war contractors, the corruption of the press, the fantastic nationalism of the patriotic societies, and the utter disregard for human life. Most of these revelations were made by new or revolutionary governments, by diplomats writing their apologies, or by the compulsion of a Senate subpoena.

Now comes the truth about the Ethiopian war. Is it any wonder that people everywhere are losing faith in the lip service which governments pay to peace? Is it surprising that realistic peace workers see as the only hope for peace the rise of a great war resistance movement among the people, the organization of the general strike of workers and intellectuals, and the reconstitution

of the whole basis of a society which makes governments really devoted to peace virtually impossible?

—*World Events.*

"Defense" Against Air Raids

One phase of modern air warfare is not clear to most people, that is, that governments have despaired of defensive action and are everywhere advocating offense. The daily bombardment of Madrid is a portent of what London, Paris, Berlin, and other great cities may expect. Bombers seem to be able to get

through almost any defense, they kill mostly women and children, and the only reply of the attacked seems to be to bomb the enemy in like indiscriminate fashion.

Stanley Baldwin stated the situation bluntly in the House of Commons (11/10/34) when he said: "It is as well for the man in the street to know that there is no power on earth that will prevent him from being bombed. Whatever people may tell him, the bomber will always get through. . . The only defense is in offense, which means

that you have to kill more women and children more quickly than the enemy in order to save yourselves."

The logic of the last sentence is not quite clear. How does killing the women and children of the enemy act as a defense for one's own? But the facts are clear. It is reliably reported that the new Royal Air Force of England consists of twice as many bombers as interceptors and that precious little is being done to provide modern anti-aircraft guns.

—*Nofrontier News Service.*

TAGORE ON RUSSIA

Beginning in this issue, and ending June 21 UNITY will publish in consecutive issues a series of Rabindranath Tagore's Impressions of Russia, written in the period of 1930, translated from the original Bengali by Basanta Koomar Roy, author of *Rabindranath Tagore: The Man and His Poetry*.

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